2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

782 the tree crown, fight for me. Shake off the demon bear.' If these instructions be faithfully carried out, no bear will touch one." On asking what should be done in case of being attacked by Bruin, I received many instructions such as the following.

"Before the animal can reach you, lie down flat on your stomach and don't even breathe till he has smelt you and taken his departure. But whisper into the ground, asking the earth genius to cover you up. Or if a very rotten tree trunk is lying on the ground, get under it and ask the rotting wood demon to carry your scent away." Such are some of the instructions given me on this remarkable cult.

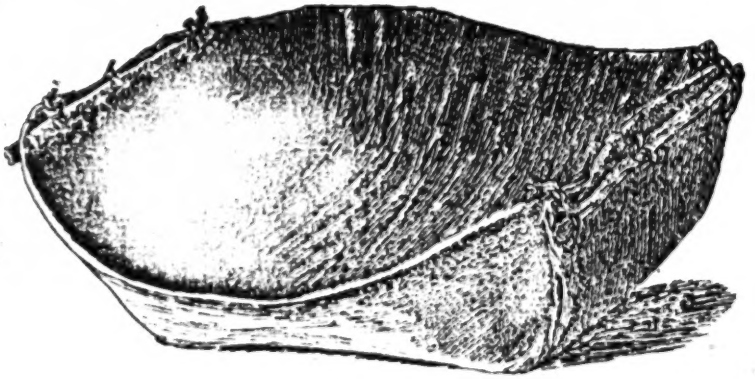
137 The ash tree is called Pin-ni by the Ainu and Yachidamo by the Japanese. Its scientific name is Fraxinus mandshuria, Pupr. var. japonica. It is very plentiful in Hokkaidō. Its habitat extends from 49 degrees N.L. in Saghalien down to the northern part of Honshū in Japan. It is a beautifully growing tree and has a glossy, smooth trunk. A tall, handsome man is sometimes described as a "fine well grown ash tree" by the Ainu.

314 In the southern part of Saghalien this tree is found only in the river valleys and damp plains, especially 322 on the western shore where the climate is fairly mild. It is thought much of by the people and its wood is put to various uses. The trunks of the larger trees are often made into river canoes and sea-going fishing [396] boats, the latter having boards fixed on their edges, with strips of bark or vines to keep the salt water out. Boat oars are also made of this wood. Sometimes one meets with mortars used for pounding cereals and producing dough for dumplings, made of this tree. As the wood is very tenacious and the branches lithe, slender and pliable, and therefore easily bent into circles and other forms, the hoop parts of scoop-nets are made of 008 it; also snowshoes, pot-hooks and sleighs. Thus there

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

Wooden spoons
(Fig. 75) are now in universal use, of which there is a variety in the collection, and for eating they have a flat, spatula-like instrument (Fig. 75), which they use in addition to chopsticks. The knives, or

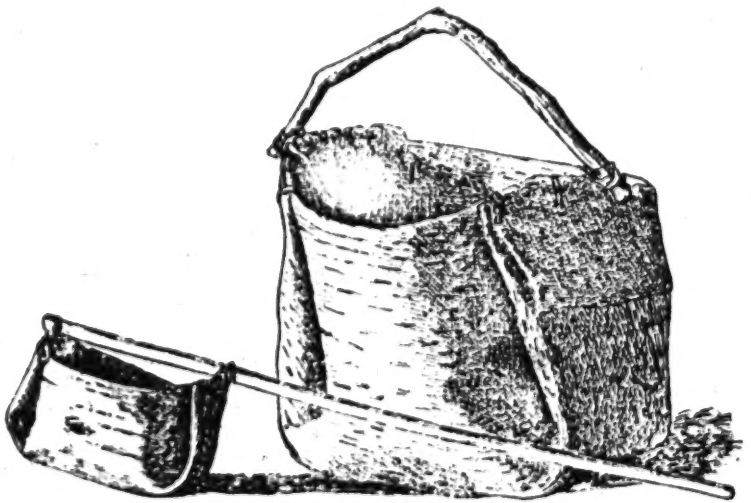
472-322



[415]

150673
Fig. 72.
BARK DISH USED AS A FISH-PLATE.

rather the knife-cases, in common use are represented in Fig. 76, which shows very well the characteristic style of wood carving. The knife-blades are of the ordinary Japanese form, but the Ainos make



[415]

150688
Fig. 73.
BARK WATER BUCKET AND DIPPER.

the wooden handles and sheathes, which are usually decorated with carving. The knife is carried sticking in the girdle. One specimen in the figure, numbered 150729, has a sheath of wood and bone.

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

Rice being an article easily obtained from the Japanese, the Ainos make oblong rice bowls by digging out thick pieces of wood. These differ somewhat in form in different parts of the island. (See Fig. 60, p. 441.)

For preparing grain, such as millet, which is cultivated here and there, they have a wooden mortar and pestle, the former standing perhaps 2 feet high, and made of a solid block of wood.

In every Ainu house there may be found some treasured articles made by the Japanese. Sometimes these articles are very old, having been handed down from father to son, and they are then valued as precious relics. Of these, Japanese swords are most highly prized, after which come lacquered cups (Fig. 77), which they use for drinking. The latter, together with other small articles, are kept in Japanese round, lacquered cases, one or more of which are to be seen in every house.

A considerable variety of animal food is to be obtained in Yezo, for the Ainos are good hunters with their rude bows and arrows.

The bear is much sought after for its flesh, as well as for its skin, which is used for clothing; and set-bows are arranged in the woods with poisoned arrows, which are released when a bear comes in contact with a cord in his path. The fox and wolf also abound, the former being caught in an ingenious bow-trap. At some seasons fresh fish abound, and they dry and half smoke great quantities of it for winter use. In the National Museum there is a specimen of salmon cut into

Fig. 78.
CARVED KNIFE-CASES.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

begun (*Ciuta Hombu*). Hundreds of convicts, who, by the way, have made the road between here and Poronai, were at work continuing the same road towards the east. I believe that eventually it will be prolonged to the north-east coast, where it will end near Abashiri. In my opinion the scheme practically will be a failure, for Kamikawa will never be a flourishing place, as there is nothing to support a large population. From a strategic point of view of course Kamikawa has the advantage of being in the centre of Yezo.

Kamikawa is 342 feet above the level of the sea, but it is well sheltered, and the climate, though very cold, is not quite so severe as in other parts of Yezo.

The Ainu of the upper Ishikari are nearly the same as the Saru Ainu, only somewhat taller and more ill-tempered. They show greater skill than other Ainu in wood-carving and general ornamentation. Along the banks of the river huts are scattered here and there; but the largest number is at Chubets.

At the present moment the Japanese population of Kamikawa is, with the exception of half-a-dozen policemen and as many civilians, composed entirely of convicts. These are dressed in red coats and trousers, and those who have committed murder have the top of their head shaved in the shape of a bottle (Jap., *Hetzui*). If any misbehave, they are beaten with the flat side of the long sword worn by the policeman in charge; but I must confess that otherwise the policemen are extremely kind in every way to these fellows. The well-behaved have one, two, or three small pieces of black cloth sewn to their left sleeve. They are made to work hard, but save this enforced diligence they seem to have a pretty good time. As I was talking to a policeman in charge, two dead men were brought on a cart by a man who had a towel over his mouth and a red blanket over his head. The two men had died suddenly. They had arrived only a few days previously from Southern Japan, where cholera was raging, and they had all the symptoms of having died of that deadly disease.

A very exciting way of retracing your steps down to the Sorachi River is to shoot the rapids in an Ainu "dug-out." You make one or two Ainu moderately drunk, as otherwise they do not seem anxious to attempt it, and when they are in

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

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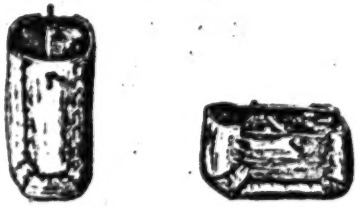

AINU BARK WATER-JUGS

CHAPTER XVIII.

Nearing Civilisation.

SAPPRO, the present capital of Hokkaido, is a town of fairly large size, with wide streets intersecting each other at right angles. The Hokkaido-cho, a high red-brick building, the law courts, the *Kofikan*, the palace built for the Emperor, and used now as a kind of hotel, and the houses of officials, are the main buildings of the place. There are, besides, a sugar refinery, a hemp and silk factory, and a brewery, mainly supported by the Government. Neither of the first two were "flourishing industries," and one of the factories, if I remember aright, had long ceased working, and the other was soon to follow suit. The Government, I must say, have done their best to encourage and push on industries as well as agriculture in this district, but their efforts have produced but poor results. Machinery, which had been imported at great expense from England, America, Germany, and France, was left to rust and perish, and no private company seemed ready to continue the works. As a farming region the Sappro district has also proved more or less a failure from a financial point of view, though again the Government cannot but be highly praised for the money they have spent in trying to educate the people up to some kind of scientific, and therefore paying, method of agriculture. They have a large model farm of about 350 acres laid down in grain fields, as well as in meadows and pastures, stocked with cattle imported mainly from America. In the Toyoshira valley, south of the town, a

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4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

WOODEN DRINKING VESSELS.

CHAPTER XX.

Ainu Habitations, Storehouses, Trophies, Furniture—Conservatism.

AINU architecture is by no means elaborate, let alone beautiful; but though it is so simple, it is to a certain extent varied, differing according to the exigencies of climate and locality. Huts of one district vary from those of another not only in small details, but also in the whole shape; or if the shape is the same, the materials are different.

The principal characteristics of the Volcano Bay and Saru River huts is, that they have angular roofs and are thatched with tall reeds and arundinaria, while the huts up the Tokachi River are more often covered with bark, though in form they are almost identical with those others.

On the Kutcharo Lake, again, the huts are thatched with tall reeds like those of Volcano Bay, but the building itself has a totally different shape. The roof is semicircular, and each hut is in appearance like the half of a cylinder lying on its rectangular base.

On the north-east coast the huts have either roofs similar to the Kutcharo ones, or else the angle is very obtuse instead of being sharp, as with the Piratori or Volcano Bay huts.

In the Kuriles, at Shikotan, the Ainu have houses exactly similar to those at Piratori.

Setting aside the varieties of form, we shall now consider how the huts are built. A frame is first made by horizontally lashing at short intervals long poles to others at the angles of the roof. Often the roof is made first and lifted up bodily on the forked poles on which it rests. Then long reeds and

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

arundinaria are collected in sufficient quantity to thatch the frame thickly on each side. Other poles or rafters are then placed over these reeds, and through them lashed tightly to the under frame, thus preventing the thatch from being blown or washed away. Care is taken to leave an opening for the door; and the small east window—usually the only one in Ainu huts—is cut out afterwards by means of a knife. Ainu huts have never more than one storey and never more than one room and a small porch. In districts where the climate is less severe the porch is often dispensed with. In building their habitations the hairy people make no attempt whatever at symmetry or beauty; all they aim at is to make themselves a shelter and nothing more.

There are no more professional architects than professionals of any other kind in the Ainu country. Each man is his own architect, builder, and carpenter. He may occasionally receive the help of a neighbour when he is building his hut, if all hands in the family are not sufficient to carry him through his work.

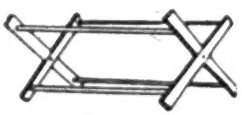
Each family has its own hut, which is used day and night by all the members. If one of the sons gets married he sometimes brings his bride to live in his father's hut, or else he goes to live in his bride's hut; but as the "hairy mother-in-law" is no better than other "mothers-in-law," the end of this arrangement is that generally the bridegroom has to build a habitation for himself and his better-half. Fortunately for him, he has to pay no ground-rent; nor has he to take a lease, nor pay the lawyer for an agreement, nor yet to buy the ground nor the materials on which and of which his not too luxurious abode is to be built. He chooses the site which is most suitable to him, and there he builds his hut as best he can; and no one is any the worse or the wiser for it. The "furnishing" is a matter of no consideration with the Ainu, as he prefers to live in an "unfurnished house." By instalments, however, as he finds his floor becoming rather damp, he provides himself with a few rough planks, which afford him comfortable sleeping accommodation; and during the winter, when fishing is not practicable, and he spends most of his day at home, he roughly carves for himself a moustache-lifter (the *Kike-ush-bashui*); a small paddle, the *Hera* (which is used both to stir the

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

wine and as an implement in weaving); a pestle and mortar carved out of the trunk of a tree; and, if he be a very ambitious person and fond of his wife, he will probably make her a weaving loom as well as two or three "water-jugs" if we may call them so—vessels made of bark bent into shape, and lashed so strongly as to be water-tight, and used for carrying water as needed.

A few wooden bowls, a wooden hook, which is suspended over the fire when bear-meat is smoked, occasionally a *Kinna* (a mat), and a skin or two, are all the articles of furniture of Ainu manufacture which an Ainu can possess, though few of them possess so many. The Ainu hut has a fire-place in the centre, or rather, a fire is lighted in the centre of the hut. The fire is lighted with a flint and steel—a method learned from the Japanese—or by the friction of two sticks. The more civilised Ainu have now adopted matches. A hole in the angle of the roof acts as chimney, but unfortunately more in name than in practice.

Chairs, stools, sofas, beds, tables, etc., are all things unknown to the Ainu. While inspecting the hut it may be as well to see how the weaving-loom, the most complicated article of the Ainu household, is made and worked. There is a "yarn beam" (the *Kammakappe*), on which the "warp" of unwoven thread is wound and kept separated, and another "roll" by which the warp threads in the process of weaving



THE KAMMAKAPPE.

PORO-USA, OR "LARGE GRATING."

THE USA.

STICKS.

are kept in tension between the two gratings. There then is the *Poro-usa* (the "large grating"), through the intervals of which the warp threads pass, and the *Usa*, a similar but smaller grating placed on the other side of the roll.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

feed up the imprisoned animals. That "charity begins at home" is true even among the hairy people; for if they are kind to animals it is only for the sake of making a good meal of them on the first occasion that presents itself.

PESTLE.

It may be as well to state that the Ainu have never been known to make pottery. What they have of the kind is imported and sold to or exchanged with them by the Japanese. If I were an Irishman I should say that real Ainu pottery is made of wood. Nevertheless, large shells are often used by them as drinking vessels where wooden bowls are not obtainable. It is a common occurrence in Ainu households that one bowl is used by several individuals, and a more common occurrence still that none of the bowls are ever washed or cleaned after having been used.

MORTAR.

The small Ainu porch which stands frequently at the entrance of Ainu huts answers the purpose of a stackhouse, and in it is stored the firewood used in the house. The wooden mortar and the long pestle are kept in a corner under the porch. In the more civilised parts of Yezo these pestles and mortars are general, as the natives use them for pounding millet.

BONE SPOON.

WOODEN SPOONS AS USED BY THE MORE CIVILISED AINU.

PESTLE AND MORTAR USED FOR POUNDING SALMON.

The pure Ainu live principally on animal food—fish and meat—sea-weed, and some kinds of roots and herbs, which

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

figures and animals are seldom attempted,[1] but conventionalised symbols, suggested by and based on certain forms of animal or vegetable life, are occasionally used for ornamentation.

The Ainu have no rock-sculptures, and can neither paint nor draw in any form; what they have are mere simple wood-carvings. But only a few have any aptitude for even this crude work, though of course they are not all alike. As with us we have people who are artistic and people who are Philistine, so with the Ainu, in that very humble degree which is to Western art what an acorn is to an oak.

Like all early work, Ainu art—if we may call it so—aims at a certain uniformity, especially in leaf-portraiture, so as to produce a somewhat symmetrical pattern; for at all times geometry has been the mother of design.

An Ainu does not go for his models direct to Nature, neither does he servilely copy his neighbour's work; but he gets his ideas indirectly from both these sources, and through inability to copy accurately, negligence in close study, and some amount of native imagination combined, varies the design which he has seen to such an extent as to make it in a sense original. The talent shown by different men in the art of carving varies considerably, even in men of the same tribe; while certain tribes show both aptitude and fondness for these ornamentations, whereas others have little of either.

It is the Ainu of the upper Ishikari River who chiefly excel in these carved ornamentations. The knife represented in the illustration comes from Kamikawa, and was carved with the point of a knife by the chief of the Ainu there. It took the man many months to accomplish, and it is by far the best specimen of Ainu workmanship that I saw in Yezo, though the ornamentations on it are not purely Ainu in character.

This man was a genius as compared to other Ainu, and his ideas of form and precision were considerably more developed than in most of his race. He has ornamented the sheath with conventionalised symbols, which were apparently suggested to him by leaves and branches of trees; and the suggestion of a flower can be noticed in the upper part of the handle. A

[1] The only attempt at animal representation is the small bear-head in chiefs' crowns.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

531 The two following patterns are elaborations of the foregoing, but are much more uncommon.

ELABORATIONS OF CHEVRONS.

The parallel incised lines and parallel lines crossing each other at right angles are met with again and again in Ainu patterns. More common still is the occurrence of a number of parallel lines meeting perpendicularly another lot of parallel lines without crossing them.

Parallel lines have a fascination for the Ainu, as we find them in most of their designs.

A COMMON PATTERN.

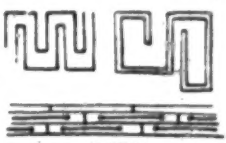
Concentric circles are not often met with, neither is the plain or loop coil often found, owing to the difficulty of execution; but the wave pattern and double wave are typical Ainu patterns; also the reversed wave.

WAVE PATTERNS.

From these may have been derived the other two, the last of which is a mere double reversed coil.

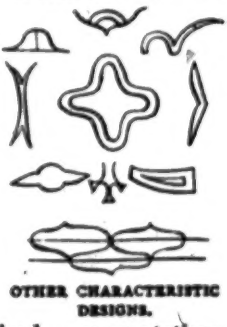
REVERSED COIL.

Triangular marks are occasionally "put in" by the Ainu in some of their more complicated designs, and finally we find that, though rarely, they sometimes attempt a kind of fret.



FRETS.

Other strange forms of lines which are thoroughly characteristic of the Ainu are the following.



OTHER CHARACTERISTIC DESIGNS.

531 322 I never came across any Ainu wood-carvings that were coloured, but in bone-carvings—which, I must add, are very rare—black is used to assist shade, and bring out the higher lights by contrast. The Ainu have no idea of tones, semi-tones, or gradations; the contrast is merely between the strong black and strong white. Enamelling is not known by them.

531 The objects which bear these incised ornamentations,

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

make, especially at myself while I was sketching them; but one or two of their "favourites" may prove worth describing.

One Ainu at Shari, on the north-east coast, excelled in moving his scalp, and by raising his eyebrows at the same time creased the skin of his forehead to such an extent as to make his eyebrows almost meet his hair. The nostrils were expanded and the upper lip was raised so as to show the teeth firmly closed. The same man was also good at moving his ears. Others preferred to put out their tongue, emitting at the same time a harsh sound from the throat.

Although many Ainu could not voluntarily move their scalp they often did so unaware. When eating, especially if a piece of food required some effort to swallow, the neck was outstretched, the mouth closed tight, the eyebrows raised high, and the scalp brought far forward over the forehead. In masticating, the ears would sometimes move involuntarily, as with dogs or monkeys.

The Ainu are also good at rapid "winking," first with one eye, then the other, each eye playing at an inexpressibly funny kind of bo-peep. *En revanche*, they make no great use of their hands, and it is not uncommon for them to use their feet to assist their hands. Indeed, their toes are supplementary fingers, and they often hold things between the big toe and the next, as when making nets or *Inaos* (wooden wands with overhanging shavings). When making nets, the string is firmly held by the big toe bent over; when shaping *Inaos* the lower point of the wand is passed between the two toes, which keep it fast while the long shavings are cut.

When women wind the thread made of the *Ulmus campestris* fibre, they often let it run between the two larger toes while they wind it on a spool or a reed. Then, again, the toes are often used to pick up small objects out of the reach of the hands, and also to scratch the lower extremities. The two middle fingers of the hand and the three smaller toes of the foot are seldom used by the Ainu, and are somewhat inert. The little finger is slightly more active. Whenever Ainu point at anything they habitually do so with the open hand, for they have a certain difficulty in using any finger separately. This difficulty is not so great with the first finger; but where a European would use only his thumb and first finger, an

5: Sternberg E-5 (no date) 1906 ABC Ainu ABC

An "imported" (Japanese) deity, who now plays well-nigh the most important part, — more in word, however, than in fact, — seems to be the "master" of the sun (*chup-kamui*), who, according to the present popular views, is the greatest deity, lording it over all the other gods. In reality this deity has little connection with every-day life. He is naturally closely associated with the "master" of the gens-fire, who plays a really great part.

Besides the principal kamui, there is a series of other, secondary ones. These are the kamui of the gens, such as the "master" of the hut — *yurta* — (*tisse-kamui*), the grandmother or the "mistress" of the fire, and other hero-ancestors; finally, numberless "masters" of individual rivulets, groves, valleys, mountains, cliffs, etc. All of these are kind, beneficent kamui, on whom man's whole welfare depends. They are his nourishers and guardians, defenders from all evils and disasters.

But there are also beings whose special business it is constantly to harm the Ainu, and to bring upon him disease and even death. For these beings, whom commonly he does not even honor with the appellation "kamui," he has no cult whatever. For them he has no offerings, no prayers, nor even simple piety. With them the Ainu finds it possible only to struggle. The secrets of this, so to speak, art of war, are known to the shamans (*takusa ainu*), who play among them a rôle similar to that among all primitive peoples, though they do not, however, enjoy any special esteem or influence. But the benevolent deities they hold in veneration. To them long and eloquent prayers are offered; with them the Ainu share their best viands and beverages; and finally in their honor are set up, wherever possible, those countless objects, varied in form and size, which are known among them under the name "inau."

2. There are inau of the most varied shapes and destinations. The most common type is a small stick, skilfully cut at various points into shavings in the form of curls (see Plate XXXIV, Figs. 1–4). The usual material is willow-wood; less frequently alder or mountain-ash may be used, according to the end in view. Generally the stick is first stripped of its bark, and then roughly planed with a knife; but sometimes the bark

5: Sternberg E-5 (no date) 1906 AB6 Ainu AB6

is left on, with the exception of the middle portion in front (Fig. 1). The mechanical devices of the work are most primitive. The tool is an ordinary short knife with blade somewhat curved, which the worker draws quickly towards himself along the piece of wood, holding one end of it with his hand, and pressing the other to his chest.

A slight examination of an *inau-stick* will show that it exhibits a primitive representation of a *human figure*. Its upper part is always made in the shape of a little head. The middle part commonly contains *notches*, always arranged in a certain order and definite number, according to the shape and designation of the inau: thus, in Plate XXXIV, Figs. 3, 4, there are three notches, one a little above the middle planed part, the other two always below it; in Fig. 2 there are four notches in succession; on others there are seven, and even more. On some sticks there are left on both sides, symmetrically situated, knots in the shape of arms, which are most frequently curved into a circle, — the fire-inau, the sun-inau (Fig. 3). Indeed, the Ainu themselves distinguish in the inau parts of a body, — the head, crown, neck, hair, brows, eyes, mouth, lips (or mouth alone), navel, and sexual organs (the last six, all in the form of notches), and, finally, hands and feet (the lower part).

On some, the so-called *nin'kari inau* (Plate XXXIV, Fig. 3), are found even ear-rings (*nin'kari*) of shavings. This denotes a female form. On Plate XXXV, Fig. 1, may be seen two figures on one knot, — one, a female, with ear-rings; the other, a male, without them.

But the inau-stick is only one form of inau. All external inau — the so-called *soyta-inau*, that is, placed outside of the house — are usually in the form of tall poles, or even whole trees, sometimes stripped of their bark, and again with the bark on, but with notches, and always cut to shavings, or bound with shavings. These often present very complicated figures. For example, the *chup-kamui inau*, the inau to the "master" of the sun, represents a complete little fir-tree in its bark, with arms curved into a circle (symbol of the sun) in the middle, with the three ordinary notches (mouth, navel, and sexual organs) in the middle section, two pairs of oblique incisions on both

EFFIGIES

Deity.[1] It is made of lilac (*pungau*), which is highly esteemed for its resistance to decay. As it is believed to be mysteriously linked with the life of the house-owner, any accidental injury or tendency to rot would be ominous, a sure sign that evil spirits are at work, and in such a case it is given ritual dismissal and a new one is substituted.[2] Even when it has been recently made and introduced to Kamui Fuchi, a bad dream or other presage of evil always causes its removal, with purifying (*epiru*) rites, and its replacement by a fresh one.

The following is a description of the making of Chisei-koro Kamui; that for other hand-made *kamui* is similar but shorter. First, Kamui Fuchi is asked for approval and good influence, and a backward-shaven *inau* is erected on the hearth. Then Nusa-koro Kamui and Shiramba Kamui are invoked, the latter at his soul *nusa*, and an *inau* of the same kind is given to each of them. The prayer to Shiramba Kamui includes an entreaty that his *ramat* may be imparted to the future *kamui*, which, when made, becomes a special receptacle for it. The making takes place at a spot between the *nusa* of Nusa-koro Kamui and that of Shiramba Kamui. A staff is cut from the straight stem of the tree, never from a branch. Pl. VII, fig. 1, shows the body, pointed at the foot, with the belly shaven flat and the top cut level. There is a mouth slit at the top cut at a very slight angle, almost the same as that on the backward-shaven *inau* for Kinashut Kamui. There is a circlet of twisted shavings round the neck for the attachment of his dress of curled shavings, and a belt of the same. The latter is needed to fasten the heart to the body. The heart in this case, and that of several *shutu-inau kamui*, is represented by a live ember (*usat*) still flaming from the hearth. After a petition to Kamui Fuchi it is, in this district, put into a large cup of water, carried out through the sacred window, and attached at the *nusa* of Nusa-koro Kamui. Then the costume of shavings is attached, and, with the unusually tall backward-shaven *inau* which is given to him, he presents quite a regal aspect (Pl. VII, fig. 2). I am told that in some districts instead of the *inau* he has a spear made of mugwort such as was carried by

[1] See Chapter III, p. 30, footnote 1

[2] Every wooden hand-made *kamui* is 'sent away' (given ritual dismissal) at the soul *nusa* because it is believed to belong to the family whose chief is Shiramba Kamui. So are wooden implements such as pestles and mortars when these are worn out or broken.—H.W.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

this and in the shorter prayer to the *kamui* on the other side they are both addressed as ancestors. Then the earth is bound to the body with curled shavings, the tassels are adjusted, the doorway deities are thanked, and Kamui Fuchi is again asked for help. Then the effigy is set up beside the unconscious patient. My informant, Nisukrek-guru, has told me of instances in which elders achieved resuscitation by this means, and he had seen it work when other methods had failed.

If Ramat-tak Kamui is successful it is brought to the hearth; four to six bunches of curled shavings are attached to it; it is again stuck in the lower hearth; Kamui Fuchi is thanked, and it is taken out by the door, not by the sacred window like other *shutu inau kamui*. In this respect it shares a procedure common to the worship of Nusa-koro Kamui and of the ancestral spirits on festive occasions. No *inau* are set up at the soul *nusa*, but it is brought to the *nusa* of Nusa-koro Kamui, thanked and dismantled. Should it fail, it gets only two bunches of curled shavings, is not taken again to the hearth, and is dismissed with scant ceremony.

Ai-ush-ni Kamui (Pl. VII, fig. 6) is a *shutu inau kamui* whose body is made of a thorny tree (*Acanthopanax ricinifolium*). Though a formidable looking warrior, he is not much employed; in fact, the only evil spirit whom, to my knowledge, he is engaged to fight, is Pauchi Kamui, and then only for stomach-ache. The effigy is set up near the sufferer, and water in which the chopped root of the tree has been boiled is taken frequently. That it is employed against stomach-ache may explain why the belly of the effigy is not flattened by shaving, as is usually done with these effigies. Another variety of this *kamui* is employed solely to drive out evil at the *nusa* of Nusa-koro Kamui. Known as Ika-kik (Driving-out-evil) Kamui, it has only an ephemeral existence and has therefore no curled shavings. It has the usual nine wings, a headband and a belt. But, instead of a spear and sword, it has a club of the same thorny wood hung from the headband. The patient is brought to the *nusa*, prayer is offered, and the club is used to beat the air round the patient. I have not seen this, but am told that it is sufficient to drive the evil Pauchi away.

The making of two kinds of *shutu inau kamui* is believed to involve risk to the maker. This is explained by the uncertainty of their disposition; they may take umbrage at any slight or inadvertent lack of reverence. But the cause of the dread lies deeper,

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

and it is extended to all objects which, when no longer required, are given ritual dismissal. One is Imosh Kamui, who awakens from death those who are stricken to insensibility by a head injury or from loss of blood, and fall apparently dead in the home. He is not invoked when a patient who has been suffering from severe illness becomes unconscious. He is more powerful than Ramat-tak Kamui and is more dreaded. Several elders told me of an old saying that one who makes Imosh Kamui cannot expect to live long, or runs a risk of losing his life. I persuaded Uesanash to make the specimen seen in Pl. VII, fig. 7, but as soon as I had photographed it he gave it ritual dismissal. In Pl. VIII, fig. 1, the old man of seventy-four years is seen praying in the snow at the *nusa* he had set up for the occasion, with all the highest offerings that can be given to any *kamui*, i.e., four winged *inau* for the ancestral spirits, one backward-shaven *inau* and one outspread shaven *inau*. Whether it was that he performed the ritual dismissal at an extemporized *nusa*, or, in my garden, an unsanctified spot, or whether he had invoked the *kamui* without necessity, the next day this lame old man fell in the privy and was laid up with an injured leg. That an elder should accept this accident as a punishment from the spirit of the privy (Ru-koro Kamui), for some ritual error, is evidence of the intensity of Ainu belief in spirit power.

The effigy of Imosh Kamui should be made at the *nusa* of Nusa-koro Kamui after petition to the three 'important' *kamui* already mentioned. There are two slightly different forms of his effigy. That made by Nisukrek Guru has legs of willow, tassels at the ends of the arms, and a high headband. The other, made by Uesanash Ekashi is more robed with shavings, and has no tassels at the ends of the arms. Both forms have a heart made from an ember, as described above. One authority says that there should be four pulses of charcoal, one on each arm and leg, but I have not seen this. Should an accident occur in the hills, and Imosh Kamui be required at once to restore the victim to life, Shiramba Kamui must be asked to grant permission, and the effigy may then be given a substitute heart of earth. Imosh Kamui is given ritual dismissal with full honours at the *inau* fence for Nusa-koro Kamui whether he has been successful or not.

According to tradition, when A-e-oina Kamui was in danger of being overcome in a fight, or, as in one version, had been actually killed, his immortal spirit invoked Imosh Kamui from Rikun

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

while straining it; lacquered feeding bowls (*itangi*); jugs of many kinds, with spouts (*etunup*); large lacquer bowls with lids, and sometimes with handles, called *patchi*; and wine cups or chalices (*tuki*) sometimes of fine old lacquer, usually with detachable stands. At festivals four of these should be placed on a tray with feet (*otchiki*), with a prayer-stick on the rim. The larger cup seen in Plate XI, fig. 5, was used for libations at the ritual salutation (*pase-ongami*) to the ancestral *kamui*. The small wooden vessel with a handle in Plate XI, fig. 4, was carved by an ancestor of my friend Mohekichi, and was valued in his family for several generations. All these objects are used in ritual. In the same figure is a *shintoko*.

Necklaces of beads (*rekutunbe*) are counted as women's treasure. They are of foreign manufacture, mostly Japanese, but some beads may be of Siberian origin. Many have pendants, probably serving as amulets. Indeed, the necklace itself is thought to have some protective influence, apart from its worth as ornament and mark of social standing. Simple ring earrings also are amulets, protecting the orifices of the ears, as tattooing the upper lip of women guards the mouth and nose against attacks of evil spirits.

On the wall behind the principal treasures are suspended swords (*emush*), quivers and sacred curled shavings. The present swords are nearly all foreign, and of soft iron, not to be compared with the tempered blades of the Japanese. For the last two or three centuries such weapons were forbidden to the Ainu, though they were allowed bows for hunting.

All are treasures in the sense that they are hoarded, but elderly Ainu distinguish between useful articles of value and what we might call fancy goods. The former are treasures (*iyoibe*), and the latter belongings (*ikoro*), of value only to the owner, but both classes have a suspicion of the supernatural about them.[1]

These sacred objects used to be hung on a cornice of tightly bound reeds on the north wall. The device was called either *chisei sembe* or *chisei noibe*, the heart or brains of the house. The cornice might be as much as twelve feet long, and sometimes went far enough over the corner to reach the sacred window. Most of the treasures are of Japanese make, though I possess two of rare Ainu

[1] The Ainu distinguished between men's and women's property—*machi-korpe* and *huchi-korpe*. The former passed usually from father to son, the latter from mother to daughter.—H.W.

7:Munro & Seligman D.E-4.5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

children, or, on festive and funeral occasions by guests. Guests always moved slowly and stoopingly, with hands hanging before them. They moved along the line of arrows to the positions indicated by the E's, where, if many, they sat in line awaiting ceremonial arrangements.

The interior seen in Plate XIV has a wooden floor, now usual in all but the poorest houses. Above the sitters is a horizontal frame stretching over the hearth. This is the *tuna*, from which is suspended the adjustable pot-hook (*shuat*). That in the picture departs from the old-fashioned and more elaborate type that I have seen in use, but both are hand carved. From one side of the older one (Pl. XI, fig. 1) hangs a large cooking spoon (*kashup*) and from the other a spatula (*shto-pera*) used in making millet dumplings; it has a notched vertical bar (*ikkeu*) which slides up and down the frame of mulberry wood. The latter is softened with hot water, bent and then slowly dried to rigidity.

The utensils used by women in preparing food are known collectively as *topochi kamui*. These include, besides those just mentioned, the pestle (*yuta-ni*), mortar (*nishu*) and winnowing basket (*mui*), all of which are kept in the shed. These three play important parts in rites concerned with difficult childbirth, and the first two take part in the exorcism of Pauchi Kamui, or his evil underlings, in cases of food poisoning or acute abdominal pains. The mortar is also used as a practical expedient; patients are rolled thereon to induce vomiting. All things used in preparing food receive curled shavings at festivals, when offerings to the spirits are never omitted. Those attached to the upper end of the pot-hook are usually removed and burnt as an offering to Kamui Fuchi, lest it be ignited and set fire to the dried food on the frame above the hearth.

Every house with any pretensions to comfort has plenty of reed matting. Examples can be seen in Plate XVI, figs. 1 and 2. They are called *inau-so* because *inau* are placed upon them; and at all festivals one is laid down at the head of the hearth, as is seen in Plate XVII, where a preliminary purification is being performed before the House-Warming Ceremony. When removed from this position the mat must be handled gently so that the accumulated *ramat* is not disturbed. The design on all *inau-so* have a general similarity, but definite variations are made by certain families. For ordinary use plain mats are woven, as may be seen in Plate XVI.